1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

PREFACE

The Havasupai are a small and obscure group of Yuman-speaking Indians living in the neighborhood of the Grand Canyon in north-central Arizona. Our earliest knowledge of them dates from their discovery in 1776 by Padre Francisco Garcés. But they have remained so secluded in their inaccessible canyon home, that we know very little of them even today. There are brief descriptions resulting from the visits of Ives' party in 1858, Coues in 1881, and of James and Curtis' parties at various times. Cushing, who spent a few days with them in 1881, has described *The Nation of the Willows* at somewhat greater length. Their cultural position still remaining in doubt, I was sent by the American Museum in 1918 for a general ethnographic study. Some parts of this have already been published as *The Havasupai Indians of Cataract Cañon* (1918), *Havasupai Days* (1920), *Havasupai (Yuman) Texts* (1924), and *The Association Test as a Method of Defining Religious Concepts* (1927). With the exception of the last two, this material appears again in the present paper.

My first visit to the Havasupai in August, 1918, was on behalf of the American Museum, for whom an ethnological collection was made. The second trip (August–November, 1919) was made as William Bayard Cutting Travelling Fellow of Columbia University, with the Museum's further assistance. A third trip (August-September, 1921) was aided, like the second, by the Southwest Society of New York. I am also under obligations to my wife, Erna Gunther, for some tales and incidental material collected in 1921, to Doctor Paul M. Standley and Doctor William A. Setchell for plant determinations, to Miss Edna M. Fisher and Doctor C. D. Shane for determinations of snakes and stars, respectively, to many anthropologist friends for notes, and to Doctor Herbert E. Bolton for the use of a manuscript on the Caddoan Hasinai.

Much of the old life is still open to observation. Social life, religion, and to only a lesser extent, the material culture, of these people is practically intact. Yet let me add for the timorous souls who fear that the inroads made by white culture may be underestimated, that I have used the historical present throughout in my description only as a matter of convenience. My principal informant, Sinyella, was an energetic and well-informed old man, aged 71. So much material is directly autobiographical, that it would have been possible to present this sketch as an account of his life. My interpreters, Jess Cheekapanyega and Mark

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Hanna, both young men, spoke English moderately well, and the first proved himself invaluable.

The phonetic scheme is as follows:—

a	as in father	å	as in but
ă	hat		
e	fate	ĕ	met
i	pique	ĭ	pin
o	note	ŏ	not
u	rule	ŭ	put
ə	law		

The remaining symbols follow the "Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages." By inadvertence, the printer has set the stress accent over the vowel in the manner there recommended for pitch accents. Pitch accents differentiate three pairs of words used in this paper: *dhá*, water, *dhá*, cottonwood tree; *hdə́'dá*, coyote, *hdə́d'dá*, left hand; *ədáĺgá* a woman's term for her child (lit. issue), *ədáĺgá*, a woman's children. K' probably corresponds to ţ (cerebral t), but for lack of certainty as to its exact character, the strong trill is indicated as shown. Glottalization is weak. Final vowels are habitually elided. Some words were heard variously: I have not attempted to spell them uniformly.

Some observations of a general sort, such as those on thought, the character of the chiefs, etc., will doubtless seem quite naïve to my professional brethren. While we take these for granted, I can assure them that outsiders do not.

I have made a point of noting what traits are absent among the Havasupai but which might be expected to appear. This is especially important for a tribe of distinctly intermediate cultural position.

The comparative notes which are offered are not so systematic as I wish. I have attempted to include most of the material available in print for at least a thousand miles around the Havasupai. Undoubtedly much has been missed, especially the Mexican material. The literature is scattered and random in content. It is surprisingly incomplete, for, with the exception of the Pima and Hopi, we have nothing like complete ethnographies for the Southwestern tribes. The description of even the material culture in the only spot in the United States where it remains in anything like its pristine condition, has hardly been begun. The comparative work is also somewhat one-sided, for I have made the Havasupai traits my point of departure. In a few cases I have gone further afield for the sake of completeness. But as the Havasupai are not a typical

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Southwestern tribe the comparisons do not clearly show the interrelations of this area. On the distribution maps I have entered the names of only those tribes for whom data are available.

A. L. Kroeber's *Handbook of the Indians of California* appeared when this manuscript was completed and should therefore be used for further comparisons with my material.

The long delay in the completion of this paper is due in part to a desire to include the comparative material, but in larger degree to more imperative duties which have crowded the last five years.

LESLIE SPIER.

University of Washington, July, 1928.

[p. 86 is blank]

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132 731 away houses and destroyed fields. For a week, during which further storms threatened, no one made more than trifling efforts to restore things to their former condition. The severest flood of recent years was that of January, 1911, when a heavy rain brought down the accumulated snows from the plateau, filling the canyon bed quite to the talus slopes, tearing away a third of the field area, and on its subsidence leaving the creek in a new location.

132 The prevailing winds are from the southwest. These blow hardest and are most annoying in the spring, on account of dust storms. The temperature on the plateau varies from a midwinter mean of 30° F. to 70° F. in midsummer; that in the canyon is about ten degrees higher the year round. There is sometimes as much as a foot of snow in the canyon bottom, yet snowfalls are infrequent. Despite the fact that it is 361 warmer in the canyon, the Havasupai prefer to spend the winter on the plateau, partly because it is less humid there, but rather more because there is an adequate supply of good firewood, and chiefly because their interest lies in the hunting, seed gathering, and visiting activities of this season.

131 Beside the village in Cataract Canyon, the Indian Gardens (*kdəndĭshâ'*, coyote tail?) on Bright Angel trail below Grand Canyon station, and perhaps some similar farm lands elsewhere, as at Prospect Valley, the Havasupai consider a large section of the plateau as their proper range. Its limits are approximately as follows. On the north, the benches on the south side of the Grand Canyon, the Buckskin Mountains, and Powell's Plateau: on the east, perhaps Coconino Basin and the plateau west of it; Hawaigâti'dà, a spring perhaps east of Black Tank, and Pŏkâdespai'ĭvà, near Hull Spring (Cedar Ranch) north of the San Francisco peaks, with the whole northern and western slopes of those mountains: on the south, Red Lake at the head of Cataract Canyon, Black (or Kisaha) tank (*hdwaigĭvĭlâ'*) north of Seligman, Howard Spring (*nallvehâ*), and at least in recent times they hunted in the vicinity of Ash Fork and perhaps north of the Black Forest. The limits on the west are more difficult to define since they commonly occupied [101] certain localities together with the Walapai, for example, Pine Spring (*hakâsa*, where there were also Paiute living with them about 1860), and Moho Canyon at the northern end of the Aubrey Cliffs. Beyond these points the Havasupai consider themselves well out of their own territory. Prospect Valley and Pine Spring formerly belonged to the Havasupai alone, the Walapai subsequently crowding them out.

101 It would seem that beyond this range, at least on all save the western side, there was considerable unoccupied territory. Paiute settlements

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lay beyond the Grand Canyon, both east of the Uinkaret Mountains and in the Kanab district. The intervening territory is so rugged and the Colorado so difficult to cross that intercourse was at a minimum. The Paiute did cross to the south side, however, in Walapai territory and to the east, where they moved up the Little Colorado. There were no permanent habitations in the vicinity of the Little Colorado (at least as far up as the falls). The Navaho and Hopi settlements are referred to as located at or near Oraibi and the Moencopie Wash. Navaho and Hopi were encountered in this region, however, and occasionally Paiute, who, for instance, were found on the western side of the river in the vicinity of Cocuino Basin about 1858.

There is some question as to how early the Navaho appeared west of the Hopi pueblos. A circumstantial account indicates that the Havasupai met them for the first time about 1864. They were encamped on the plateau above the Cocuino Basin, and told of other camps on both sides of the Little Colorado, and from the Grand Canyon rim to the San Francisco peaks. They were not acquainted with each other's language; hence, intercourse was carried on by signs and in the Hopi tongue. The Navaho asserted that they were half of a group living far east of Oraibi and had fled to escape capture by the whites. On the other hand one Navaho insisted that the Havasupai had raided his camp in the Moencopie district. This incident coincides exactly with the recorded activities of Kit Carson. In 1863 he invaded the Navaho country in New Mexico, capturing some 6000, the greater part of the tribe, and moving them to the Bosque Redondo, where they were released in 1867.[1]

It is also evident that there was a considerable stretch of unoccupied territory along the present line of the Santa Fé Railroad. References to the Yavapai and Apache clearly indicate that their camps were well down on the headwaters of the Verde River and its tributaries. The notion has gained currency, however, that the Havasupai once lived about the San Francisco Mountains and along the adjacent sections of the Little Colorado—in fact, that they were found there by the railroad explorers of the last century. For example, Henshaw observes that

> according to tradition, the Havasupai (or more properly a Pueblo clan or tribe that became incorporated with them) formerly built and occupied villages of a permanent character on the Colorado Chiquito east of the San Francisco mountains, where ruins were pointed out to Powell by a Havasupai chief as the former home of his people. As the result of war with tribes farther east, they abandoned these villages and took

[1] *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 41; Ives, *The Navajos*, 34 et seq. In 1826 Pattie reached "the chief village of the Mohahaves" four days' travel up the San Juan River, the site "about 30 miles from the Rio del Norte." (Pattie, *Personal Narrative*, 139, 144.)

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Social and cultural relations with the Walapai are also very close. Members of each tribe commonly live with the other, intermarriages are frequent, and they share each other's viewpoint and antipathies to a very high degree. A few instances: Havasupai took part in the mourning for Walapai dead (p. 243); a Walapai shaman finds most of his practice with his mother's people, the Havasupai (p. 277); the latter accompanied the Walapai to war against the Paiute (p. 251); seven Walapai women live in Cataract Canyon and at least three Havasupai women among the Walapai. Garcés in 1776 testified to the same attitude. On the other hand, there are some antagonisms of which the Havasupai are conscious. The younger Walapai wives were pointed out to me at once as foreigners, although it was some time before I discovered that an equal number of older women were also Walapai. The Havasupai mock the others' gruffer mode of speech, and their eating lizards. They also came to blows over a race (p. 253).

An account of their separation from the Yavapai, wherein the latter are represented as driven from Cataract Canyon, is given in a tale. This is improbable; it is more likely that the Havasupai represent an offshoot of the Walapai which took up agriculture and then settled more permanently in the canyon.

The Havasupai call themselves *hasasáwalpa*[a], blue-green water people. By their account they are known to the Zuñi as *ká'nina*,[1] and probably to other easterners by similar names.[1] They call the Walapai *ðulgámpaya* or *guchegata*; the Yavapai, *tícahud* (enemy) or *nyáðpa*[b]; the Apache (Tonto and White Mountain?), *dhuddjé*; the Navaho, *hua'dmá'u*; the Hopi, *móka*; the Zuñi, *sá'u'ú*; the Mohave (and Yuma?), *wamókava*; the Paiute, *paiutia*; and, by my recollection, the Ute, *yáta* and the Pima, *palaya*.[2]

The Havasupai numbered 177 in 1919.[3] It does not seem likely that there were ever many more than 250, certainly not over 300. This is apparent from the earlier census reports and also from the limitation of the cultivable area. The present acreage probably could not be doubled. Garcés states that the population did not exceed thirty-four families in 1776.[4] In 1858 Egloffstein reported not more than 200[5]; in 1869 there were 300[6]; in 1881, Cushing found 235[7], and Coues, 214[8];

[a] Tau Kats, (a), 300, gives Kuchaihwa or Kuchainahwa (pitch-nut people ?) as the Zuñi name.
[b] This might be etymologized as ápi, man, and hapʼpi, black, or hapá, sun, but I was specifically told it does not mean black man.
[1] See p. 209 for the composition of population.
[2] Coues, 243.
[3] Ives, 108.
[4] *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 126.
[5] *Third Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology*, 1884, XVIII.
[6] Coues, 243.

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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CHAPTER XIII

THE PEOPLE OF THE BLUE WATER AND THEIR HOME

OF no people of the Southwest, perhaps, has so much utter nonsense been written as of this interesting People of the Blue Water, the *hua* (people) of the *vasu* (blue) *hakka* (water) — the Havasupais. As far as we know, Padre Garcés was the first white man to visit them in their Cataract Canyon home, and he speaks of his visit in his interesting Diary translated and annotated by the lamented Elliott Coues shortly before his death.

Captain Sitgreaves, Lieutenant Ives, Captain Palfrey, Major J. W. Powell, Lieut. F. H. Cushing, and others in turn visited them, but very little was either known or written about them when, over a dozen years ago, I was conducted to their marvellously picturesque home by Mr. W. W. Bass, the well-known guide of the Grand Canyon.

The journey on that occasion was a remarkable one for me, as, though I was fairly well versed in the trails of the Grand Canyon (having then descended four of them), I had never seen such a trail as was the Topocobya Trail down which we descended late in the evening. Leaving our wagon, after sixteen miles' drive through the Kohonino Forest from Bass Camp, we packed food, blankets, and cameras on horses and burros, and, after two miles of travel in what in Western parlance is called

[pp. 1-198 not processed]

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

CHAPTER I

GEOGRAPHICAL AND CULTURAL SETTING

This study of the Havasupai woman begins by placing her in the perspective of her environment, which includes both natural habitat and tribal culture. In sketching the cultural background, new material, mostly pertaining to the recent historic period, will be added to that which has been published about the Havasupai, and differences in opinion on certain points, which are evident among previous observers of the people, will be discussed. [121]

Natural Environment

The former range of the Havasupai included a section of the Coconino Plateau about 90 mi. long and 75 mi. wide, extending from the Colorado River gorge south to Bill Williams Mountain and the San Francisco Peaks, bounded on the west by Aubrey Cliffs and on the east by the benches of Coconino Plateau above the Little Colorado River (Spier 1928, 91). [131]

The Havasupai now describe essentially the same former boundaries as those ascribed to them by Spier except on the east, where some of them include in their territory land east of the Little Colorado River. However, in their land claim against the United States Government, they are not asking compensation for land beyond the Little Colorado. In a personal communication, their attorney, Royal D. Marks, describes the former eastern boundary as being on a line from the San Francisco Mountains northeast and north to the junction of the Little Colorado River and the Moencopie Wash, and from there northwest along the Little Colorado to its confluence with the Colorado. [648]

Boundaries of former territory probably were defined by the Havasupai only in vague terms. On the west they often camped with the Walapai, but they seem to have been in no frequent contact with tribes on other boundaries until the latter half of the 19th century. Certainly before that there was little competition for their hunting and gathering resources except with the Walapai. [101]

Rarely does a cultural group inhabiting such a small area have an environment which varies as greatly as does that of the Havasupai. With the possibilities presented them by nature, the Havasupai long ago developed a dichotomous economy which provided improved subsistence and indeed made possible a larger population within the region. Therefore, an understanding of this rather unique physical setting, with its implications for Havasupai cultural development, is essential to this study. [139]

Topography

The most striking characteristic of the area is the topography--a broad plateau bounded by a sweep of mountains to the southeast and a deep canyon

Tribal Origin and Classification

Spier (1928, 98) states that the Havasupai probably originated as a branch of the Walapai tribe, practicing more intensive agriculture than the latter and subsequently occupying lands favorable to farming. The Havasupai feel more akin to the Walapai than to other neighboring tribes. In historic times the boundary between the contiguous areas occupied by the Havasupai and the Walapai on the Coconino Plateau was ill defined, and members of both tribes frequently met and camped together. At present, there is a higher rate of intermarriage with the Walapai than with any other tribe.

The close association and prevailing friendly relations between the two tribes in historic times are reflected in tribal lore, which allies them as victims of other tribes in warfare and raiding and as partners in retaliatory expeditions. The origin myths and much other folklore of the two tribes are almost identical in content.

While the Walapai and Havasupai dialects are very similar, members of both tribes are conscious of certain differences in vocabulary and speed of utterance, the Havasupai speaking more slowly.

Thus, evidence seems to indicate a common origin for the two tribes. Whiting (n. d., 11) suggests that designation of the Havasupai as a tribe independent of the Walapai "was probably only an accident of administrative history." However, separation occurred early enough to permit development of a group consciousness in both the Havasupai and the Walapai tribes.

Kroeber (1947, 41) describes seven subtribes or bands within the Walapai tribe. "The Havasupai," he writes, "look like a Walapai band or subtribe which has acquired somewhat greater ethnic, cultural, and historic independence" than the other seven.

Spier (1929, 217) classed the Havasupai culture as primarily Great Basin in type with a minor inclusion of Pueblo traits. Kroeber (1947, 42) notes that Havasupai resemblance to Great Basin culture lies not only "in considerable specific content, but especially in similar meagerness of defined patterns." Kelly (1953, 10) designates the Havasupai a Plateau Rancheria tribe along with the Walapai, Yavapai, Paiute, and Chemehuevi. Kroeber (1947, 41) simply classes the Havasupai, Walapai, and Yavapai together as Northwest Arizona Yumans.

Douglas W. Schwartz has made an archeological survey of Cataract Canyon. Basing his conclusions principally upon pottery classification and analysis, Schwartz postulates that the Havasupai are descendants of the Cohonino people who, according to him, occupied the Coconino Plateau from A. D. 600 to A. D. 1200 and migrated to Cataract Canyon, beginning about

101 114 172 A.D. 900 and continuing until A.D. 1300, when the plateau was entirely abandoned. Schwartz has reiterated his postulate (1956, 77; 1957, 372), but so far as I know he has not presented evidence to substantiate it. Although Schwartz tentatively identifies the Cerbat as the prehistoric antecedents of the neighboring Walapai, he suggests that further research be done to settle this question.

101 114 The extremely close linguistic and cultural affiliation of the Havasupai and the Walapai is well recognized and has led Spier and others to suggest a common origin for the two tribes. Presumably, the conclusions of Schwartz do not run counter to Spier's theory, but merely place the time of separation for these neighboring tribes further back in prehistory than has previously been assumed. It might then be suggested that the rather high incidence of Havasupai-Walapai intermarriage and their intimate association socially have served as a deterrent to a greater degree of separation in language and culture than that which presently pertains.

Linguistic Relationships and Tribal Name

101 114 197 Linguistically, the Havasupai, together with the Walapai and Yavapai, form the northeastern Yuman group, a division of the Hokan linguistic family. Havasuapi and Walapai dialects are almost identical and differ but little from Yavapai. Kroeber (1943, 25) states that Havasupai resembles Paipai of Baja California. Whiting (n. d., 27) considers both the northeastern Yumans and the Paipai to be "marginal and relatively close to the ancestral patterns."

Whiting (n. d., 9) translates Havasupai as "the people who live at the place which is green," in contradiction to the euphonic rendition, "people of the blue-green water." The latter he traces to a conscious parallel of Cadman's "Land of the Sky-blue Waters." Whiting considers the syllable "ha," formerly translated as "water," to be part of the color term "havasu," which means blue or green, rather than blue-green. Spier (personal communication, 1957) points out: "The word for the range blue to green (hence either blue or green as we denominate them) is vasu´wa, not hàvasu; any comparison with other Yuman languages shows this. Even if hàvasu were correct, it would combine with ahà (water) as ahàvasu. Whiting still has to explain the initial ahà." Spier (1946, 10-11) renders the term for "blue-green" in Havasupai vasu´wa and in Maricopa xavacú while the term for "water" is ahà in Havasupai and axa´ in Maricopa. The translations recorded by this investigator were the same as those reported by Spier.

"Pai" means "people" in the tribal names Havasupai, Walapai, and Yavapai. Thus, Havasupai is an Anglicized contraction of the native designation for this tribe, and Supai, referring both to the place and to the people, is a further abbreviation. Earliest Spanish and Anglo-American references to the Havasupai tribe were under the appelation "Conconino" in a variety of

spellings, the name possibly being derived from the Zuni term for the Havasupai, ka'nina (Spier, 1928, 98). From this source the county where the Havasupai live received the name Coconino. 101 114 197

Intertribal Contacts

As already noted, Havasupai association with the Walapai has been longer and more intimate than with any other tribe, and intermarriage occurs with much greater frequency than with any other group. Few Havasupai families are without consanguine relatives among the Walapai. An elderly man, Shorty Montoya, was pointed out as being "the only true Supai" (that is, he had no ancestors known to have belonged to the Walapai or other tribes). 101 648

Contact with the Yavapai was limited to Yavapai raids upon the Havasupai and retaliatory attacks by the Havasupai until about 1865, when the two tribes agreed to cease hostilities in favor of trade (Spier 1928, 375). Western Apache groups probably joined Yavapai parties raiding the Havasupai (Spier 1928, 356), and raids are generally attributed to them, rather than to the Yavapai. 648 721

The earliest encounters with the Navaho in 1864 (Spier 1928, 95) were somewhat hostile, but trading and friendly relations developed in succeeding years. Similarly, reports indicate that early relations with the Paiute were hostile, but by 1856 (Spier 1928, 360) some Paiutes had taken refuge in Havasupai and Walapai country. Subsequently the three tribes became friendly. A small number of intertribal marriages took place. 648 439

The Havasupai have had a long history of trade with the Hopi. Informants stress that the Hopi are like brothers to them. However, intermarriage has been infrequent. [582]

Spier (1928, 100, 244-5) notes that the Mohave were on the western end of a trade route running through the Walapai, Havasupai, and Navaho lands to the Hopi mesas. Havasupai contact with the Mohave was mostly through the Walapai, but Havasupai sometimes made trading trips to the Mohave.

Political and Social Organization

Leadership formerly rested with chiefs, who achieved office through inheritance or personal merit. Chiefs had no power to command; rather, they acted as advisers and leaders. Succession of chiefs was not automatic and did not necessarily follow immediately upon death of a chief. A period of months or even years might elapse before tribal opinion united upon a successor. 622

The Havasupai

IN Cataract Canyon, within the boundaries of the Grand Canyon National Park, nearly three thousand feet below the land above, live the Havasupai Indians. Hemmed in by towering walls of red sandstone the acreage of their reservation is very small but its fertility, spectacular scenery, and unusual setting as a habitation for man ranks it as one of the most remarkable places in Arizona. 131

The original reservation of 1880 was a tract of land about five miles wide and twelve long surrounding the inhabited part of Cataract Canyon. Two years later the size was reduced to the irregular strip of canyon bottom land extending a mile and a half north and south of the Indian settlement, an area of 518.6 acres. The population is also small. The Indian Bureau census of 1939 shows two hundred thirteen members, a slight increase in recent years. The tribe has probably never numbered more than three hundred. 161 [174]

Cataract Canyon is almost semi-tropical. The high plateaus of the surrounding country have a temperate climate but the village, shut in as it is, averages from ten to twelve degrees warmer the year round. In summer it is very hot, the temperature often reaching one hundred and twelve degrees. 132

Through the canyon's gorge runs Cataract Creek which plunges over precipitous cliffs forming several beautiful waterfalls. Mooney Falls, the largest is nearly two hundred feet high. Passing through miles of limestone formations the water is heavily impregnated with calcium and magnesium carbonates, calcium sulphate, and magnesium chloride. These mineral salts in solution over a period of time, coat everything they touch with a stony deposit and impart a light tinge to the water which imparts a light blue or greenish blue to the creek. Where the water gathers in pools at the foot of the falls, it is a fascinating turquoise color. 133 135

Taking their name from the water of the creek, these Indians have become known as the blue-water people (Havasu, blue or green water; pai, people). 101

The Havasupai speak a language of the Yuman stock, and are closely allied to the Hualapai their near neighbors on the west. They speak a similar language, having a slight variation of dialect. Hualapai, Havasupai, and Yavapai are dialects of a single language which is closely related to Mohave and Yuman. 197

HISTORY

Archaeologists have believed the Havasupai formerly built and occupied villages of a permanent character on the Colorado to the east of the San Francisco Mountains where ruins may be found today. As a result of war with other tribes they abandoned these villages and took refuge in the San Francisco mountains subsequently leaving these for their present home. In Cataract Canyon they found plenty of water, a mild climate, and protection from the raids of more powerful tribes. Recent evidence would seem to show that this is not correct, although the information here given is to be found in Hodge, Handbook of American Indians. 174 [114]

The first written record of the Havasupai dates from 1776 when Padre Francisco Garces, a Spanish mission priest, stopped there. There was little contact of the tribe with the Americans for the next hundred years, except for an occasional visit of trappers, prospectors, and exploring parties. 175

For several years following the establishment of the reservation 175 648

6: Schwartz A-5 (1953)1956
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THE HAVASUPAI 600 A.D.—1955 A.D.: A SHORT CULTURE HISTORY

By DOUGLAS W. SCHWARTZ

THE HAVASUPAI are a tribe of Yuman-speaking Indians who now live at the bottom of Cataract Creek Canyon, a side branch of northwestern Arizona's Grand Canyon (Spier 1928). When they were first discovered, in 1776 by an exploring Franciscan priest, they were leading an economically double life. In the spring and summer they irrigated corn and bean fields from an ever-flowing spring of clear blue-green water, while during the winter they migrated up to the plateau,

FIG. 1
Map of Arizona showing the distribution of prehistoric cultures (After Colton).

7:Spier E-5 (1918-1921) 1929
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Havasupai

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PROBLEMS ARISING FROM THE CULTURAL POSITION OF THE HAVASUPAI

BY LESLIE SPIER

I

THE observation has often been made that culture areas are geographically and culturally continuous. As Wissler remarks in his study of the *Material Cultures of the North American Indians* (p. 468),[1] there commonly are no sharp breaks in cultural distribution. Transitions are gradual from one culture center to another of different type, the intervening groups presenting in sequence the whole range of traits combined variously. This is so much a commonplace that the field ethnologist acts on it, interpolating between known cultures to forecast what he might expect in a tribe lying between them.

In 1918–21 I visited the Havasupai Indians of northern Arizona for the American Museum of Natural History and the Southwest Society of New York. A description of their culture has recently been published, in which I have included a series of distribution studies, taking my departure from the traits of Havasupai life.[2]

The Havasupai are a small and little-known tribe living in the vicinity of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado. They are western neighbors, at some remove, of the Hopi and Zuñi, and as such it was expected that they would share the Pueblo culture of these peoples to considerable degree. This is not the case; the cultural step-down is surprising. Pueblo elements are only scantily repre-

[1] AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST, n.s., 16: 447–505, 1914.
[2] Havasupai Ethnography. Anthr. Pap. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., 29, pt. 3, 1928.

7: Spier E-5 (1918-1921) 1929
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Havasupai

sented in their life, which on the whole is like that of the semi-nomadic, rude tribes of the Great Basin of Nevada and Utah. This is true not only of the Havasupai but also of the remaining groups of the western Arizonan plateau, the linguistically related Walapai and Yavapai.

In order to bring out the cultural position of the Havasupai I have drawn up a table (table 1) of the elements characterising the several sub-areas of this region. I have leaned heavily on Kroeber's characterisations in his *Handbook of the Indians of California*,[3] and earlier papers. I have also built on the basis of Wissler's summaries of the material cultures, realising however that the description of the Plateau area[4] hardly applies to its southern or Basin half. There is a very unequal weighting of the items of the table, the rich ritualism of the Pueblo, e.g., being dismissed with a few catch-words that level it to the order of the dances of the Basin tribes. And on the contrary I have enlarged on some minutiae because they offered an opportunity to show comparisons with the Havasupai. Like any tabular statement it suffers from abridgment but shows the situation at a glance. It must be understood that the Havasupai, being geographically one of the Western Rancheria peoples, have been drawn on in framing the culture of that group.[5] Those items that Havasupai traits most closely resemble are marked by an asterisk.

A simple count of the traits in which the Havasupai resemble these groups shows half again as many correspondences with the Western Rancheria and Basin peoples as with the others. No importance can be attached to a count of this sort but the result does coincide with my judgment derived by less mechanical procedure. I will present this in the following summary.

Material culture and economic life place the Havasupai clearly with the Basin group. To be sure they are primarily agricultural-

[3] Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 78, 1925.

[4] Op. cit., 451.

[5] The composition of this Western Rancheria group may not be obvious. It includes the tribes lying between the western Pueblos and the Colorado river i.e., Navaho, Western Apache, Pima, Papago, Tonto, Havasupai, Yavapai, Walapai, and others.

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RECENT OBSERVATIONS ON HAVASUPAI LAND TENURE[1]

ELMAN SERVICE

THE HAVASUPAI INDIANS are a closely knit, isolated band in northern Arizona which has numbered around 200-250 people for as long as we know of them. Dr Leslie Spier visited them in 1918, 1919 and 1921 and has published a full description of their culture.[2] Geographic isolation has restricted the disruptive effects of white acculturation, so that Spier's ethnography is still accurately descriptive of the Havasupai, except for the few modern changes to be discussed in this paper. Aside from my interpretations as to the meaning of these more recent data, I have added nothing which was not already discussed by Spier in his monograph.

The Havasupai live by intensive irrigation farming, and make full use of the approximately 100 acres of tillable land. They are, understandably, strongly attached to their land, and feel that they live in a beautiful oasis which is unique in the arid Grand Canyon region. The individual land holdings are of very small patches, which, because of the vagaries of inheritance, are widely scattered among the holdings of other individuals. There are no particular problems involved in the control and apportioning of water for the fields, as the creek which bisects their canyon supplies more than enough for everyone. Upkeep of the main irrigation ditches is a community affair, while the lateral ditches are kept up by the persons effected.

The Havasupai have no clan system, nor do they even recognise lineages based on relationships beyond the grandparental generation. The conjugal unit and the patrilocal extended family are the chief social structures within the village, which now consists of 38 occupied camps. In an interesting paper called *A Suggested Origin for Gentile Organization*,[3] Spier pointed out the possibility of patrilineal gentes arising here should there occur (1) a greater emphasis in patrilineal inheritance, and (2) a greater regularity in patrilocal residence, which together might tend to bring a further extension of kinship recognition in the father's line. At the time of his visits, the usual post-marital residence was temporarily matrilocal, followed in a year or two by patrilocality.

1 Read before Section H–Anthropology of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, December 27, 1946. The data were obtained during a visit to Supai, Arizona, in May, June, and July, 1946.

2 *Havasupai Ethnography* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, Vol. 29, Part 3, 1928).

3 American Anthropologist, Vol. 24, pp. 487-489, 1922.

THE HAVASUPAIS, PEOPLE OF CATARACT CANYON[1]

Richard Emerick

The American Southwest is known the world over for its unique, colorful, almost frightening beauty and there is no more awe-inspiring part of it than the Grand Canyon country in northern Arizona. Here, in the past ten million years or so, the Colorado River and some of its tributaries have carved a mile-deep wonderland into the Kaibab Plateau. The place is a network of canyons with the majestic Grand Canyon itself at its center. Nearly all of these gorges are being cut by intermittent streams born of the melting snows and summer cloudbursts. Therefore, throughout most of the year the floors of nearly all of them are dry and desert-like. One of these chasms, however, is richly green, for through it, from an inexhaustible source, flows a small but bounteous stream. This oasis is called Cataract Canyon and it has been the home of the Havasupai Indians for hundreds of years.

In historic times, at least, the Havasupais have certainly lived where they do now—in and around Cataract Canyon. The early Spanish records make frequent reference to such people as the Coninas, Cosninos and Coconinos living in this same region. There is every reason to believe that many of these references, by names which are corruptions of a Hopi expression for their western neighbors, were to the Havasupais. The legends of these people, when correlated with what is known of the pre-Columbian history of the southwest, indicates that they have inhabited the Grand Canyon country since perhaps as early as 800 A.D.

The first positive record of the Havasupais was made by the Franciscan missionary, Padre Francisco Tomas Garces, who, on June 20th, 1776, was guided into Cataract Canyon by a party of Walapais. His diary tells us that the people he found there were extremely friendly and, in fact, they attended him so royally and fed him so well that he remained five days.

[1] I wish to extend my thanks to the Anthropology Department of the University of Pennsylvania for financial assistance with research in the summer of 1953.

stream into ditches with a speed of flow sufficient to divert a considerable amount of water. It is then carried through the village and into the fields. Most of the irrigation canals are simply small ditches dug in the sand, banked slightly on the sides. The main ditches are as much as two feet deep and three feet wide, but the laterals are much smaller. These are dug from the main ditches to the individual garden plots which may then be watered as necessary. Each field is divided by long mounds of earth into sections which are watered one at a time by letting the excess from one into the next until the entire field is well soaked. Whenever the water must be carried across the mouths of side canyons where ditches would be frequently washed out in storms, small aqueducts have been constructed with piping and cement. The Indian Service has made plans to install new diversion dams and three new aqueducts with permanent footings at a cost of many thousands of dollars. The old system is a primitive one, but it has stood the test of time, for the Havasupais have been irrigating for centuries.

In preparing the fields for the first planting in April, the old buckthorn planting stick as an agricultural tool has given way to the plow, scraper, harrow and disc as well as shovels and hoes. Most of this equipment, along with several cultivators, mowers and one tractor, belongs to the Tribal Council which rents it out for services or money. Unfortunately, most of these tools are badly cared for since the Havasupais seem to have little mechanical ability. Men, women and children plant, but the men do most of the field preparation, irrigation and fence building and repair. The age old prayer at the first planting is still a very important part of this spring activity.

The more than 280 Havasupais speak a dialect which, along with that spoken by the Walapais, the Yavapais and the Tonto, has been classified as the eastern division of the Yuman stock. Havasupai and Walapai are particularly close, the dialects being no more different from each other than are "Bostonian" and "Brooklynese." The cultural affinities of these two groups are equally close and their members live comfortably in each other's midst and frequently intermarry.

Physically the Havasupais bear a close resemblance to the Indians of the Lower Colorado. They are of medium to short stature and inclined to fatness. Their complexions are relatively light and they smile easily and winningly.

181 and winningly. It would not be an overstatement to call these people easy-going. Unpleasantness arises occasionally here as it does wherever human animals live together, but in Supai it seems of a less offensive nature. It is peaceful place where people are loathe to interfere in each other's affairs, yet ready to help when asked.

● 101 Leslie Spier once pointed out that culturally the Havasupais are closely associated with the tribes of the Great Basin. This is especially true of the material, economic and the social aspects of the culture. At the same time, these people are primarily agriculturalists like their eastern neighbors, the Pueblos. This places them in a distinctly intermediate cultural position.

221 In aboriginal times, when the tribe was often smaller than it is today,
[161] early spring found the Havasupais returning to Cataract Canyon from the plateau where they had spent the winter hunting and gathering piñon nuts and other wild seeds. The spring planting was done and the dirt covers on their houses repaired. It was at this time that much of the food, which had been dried and stored the year before, was eaten.

[361] During the summer everyone lived in the canyon, though trading
[439] expeditions were often sent out to neighboring tribes. When the corn
[527] and peaches ripened in September, the harvest was taken in and a dance
[648] held to which Walapais, Navajos, and Hopis were invited.

221 By the middle of October an exodus of families and groups of families
361 began and within a month the entire population moved up to the cedar thickets on the plateau where semi-permanent camps were established and once more the winter activities began. This annual cycle has changed considerably, however, in the past half-century.

177 The food-getting economy of today is no longer divided between the
221 spring and summer agriculture and the hunting and gathering of fall and
241 winter. There is a concentration by both men and women on agriculture and remunerative employment on the plateau. This makes it possible for families to depend on food purchased from the store as well as that which they grow. The hunting and gathering aspect of their economic life has been nearly given up, making the seasonal migrations unnecessary. The
[361] village is now the center of activity throughout the year.

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Havasupai ('blue or green water people'). A small isolated tribe of the Yuman stock

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HAVASUPAI MAN. (AM. MUS. NAT. HIST.)

(the nucleus of which is believed to have descended from the Walapai) who occupy Cataract canyon of the Rio Colorado in N.

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HAVASUPAI WOMAN. (AM. MUS. NAT. HIST.)

w. Arizona. Whipple (Pac. R. R. Rep., III, pt. 1, 82, 1856) was informed in 1850 that the "Cosninos" roamed from the

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Sierra Mogollon to the San Francisco mts. and along the valley of the Colorado Chiquito. The tribe is a peculiarly interesting one, since of all the Yuman tribes it is the only one which has developed or borrowed a culture similar to, though less advanced, than that of the Pueblo peoples; indeed, according to tradition, the Havasupai (or more probably a Pueblo clan or tribe that became incorporated with them) formerly built and occupied villages of a permanent character on the Colorado Chiquito E. of the San Francisco mts., where ruins were pointed out to Powell by a Havasupai chief as the former homes of his people. As the result of war with tribes farther E., they abandoned these villages and took refuge in the San Francisco mts., subsequently leaving these for their present abode. In this connection it is of interest to note that the Cosnino caves on the upper Rio Verde, near the N. edge of Tonto basin, central Arizona, were named from this tribe, because of their supposed early occupancy by them. Their present village, composed of temporary cabins or shelters of wattled canes and branches and earth in summer, and of the natural caves and crevices in winter, is situated 115 m. N. of Prescott and 7 m. S. of the Grand canyon. The Havasupai are well formed, though of medium stature. They are skilled in the manufacture and use of implements, and especially in preparing raw material, li e buckskin. The men are expert hunters, the women adept in the manufacture of baskets which, when lined with clay, serve also as cooking utensils. Like the other Yuman tribes, until affected by white influences during recent years, their clothing consisted chiefly of deerskin and, for the sake of ornament, both men and women painted their faces with thick, smooth coatings of fine red ocher or blue paint prepared from wild indigo; tattooing and scarification for ornament were also sometimes practised. In summer they subsist chiefly on corn, calabashes, sunflower seeds, melons, peaches, and apricots, which they cultivate by means of irrigation, and also the wild datila and mescal, in winter principally upon the flesh of game, which they hunt in the surrounding uplands and mountains. While a strictly sedentary people, they are unskilled in the manufacture of earthenware and obtain their more modern implements and utensils, except basketry, by barter with the Hopi, with which people they seem always to have had closer affiliation than with their Yuman kindred. Their weapons in war and the chase were rude clubs and pikes of hard wood, bows and arrows, and, formerly, slings; but firearms have practically replaced these more

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105 primitive appliances. The gentile system of descent or organization seems to be absent among the Havasupai, their society consanguineally being patriarchal. They are polygamists, the number of wives a man shall have being limited apparently only by his means for supporting them. Betrothals by purchase are common, and divorces are granted only on the ground of unfaithfulness. The Havasupai occupy a reservation of about 38,400 acres, set aside by Executive order in 1880 and 1882. Their population was 300 in 1869, 253 in 1902, 174 in 1906. (H. W. H.)

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Agua Supais.—Hodge, Arizona, 168, 1877. Ah-Supai.—Bourke, Moquis of Ariz., 80, 1884. Ăr'-ba-zĭ'-pai.—Gilbert, Yuma vocab., B. A. E., 64, 1878 (Walapai form). Ahasuá-pai.—Gatschet in Ztschr. f. Ethnol., XV, 127, 1883. Ava-Supios.—Bancroft, Ariz. and N. Mex., 547, 1889. Avidupai.—Gatschet, op. cit., 128. Cosinos.—Ind. Aff. Rep. 1868, 91, 1870. Cosninos.—Taylor in Cal. Farmer, Mar. 27, 1863. Co-o-si-nis.—Powell in Scribner's Mag., 213, Dec. 1875. Coshinenes.—Emory, Recon., 96, 1848 (trans. 'dirty fellows'). Coshnichenes.—Bartlett, Pers. Narr., II, 178, 1854. Cosninos.—Cushing in Atlantic Mo., 544, Oct. 1882. Cohninos.—Bourke, Moquis of Ariz., 80, 1884. Cojninos.—Stigreaves, Expedition, 15, 1858 (name by which a Havĕsdpai called himself). Cojonins.—Scott in Donaldson, Moqui Pueblo Inds., 82, 1893. Cominos.—Vargas (1682), cited by Davis, Span. Conq. N. Mex., 376, 1869. Cominos.—Browne, Apache Country, 220, 1869 (mentioned as a branch of Gila Apache). Cominos.—Rivera, Diario y Derrotero, leg. 960, 1766. Cominos.—Pumpelly, Across America and Asia, map, 1870. Cominos.—Garcés (1776), Diary, 472, 1900. Cominos.—Whipple, Pac. R. R. Rep., III, pt.1, 92, 1856. Cominos.—Garcés (1776), Diary, 446, 1900 (erroneously said to be Maricopa name for Mohave). Cuismer.—Orosco y Berra, Geografia, 89, 1864 (misquoting Garcés). Cuismos.—Garcés (1776), Diary, 446, 1900. Cuismos.—Ibid., 473 (erroneously said to be applied to Mohave). Cuismos.—Ibid. (erroneously said to be applied to the Mohave). Hahaeopia.—Gibbs, MS. map of Colorado tribes, B. A. E., no. 282. Ha-ha-vasu-pai.—James, Inds. Painted Desert, 195, 199, 1903 ('people of the blue water'). Hawaspai.—Thomas, MS., no. 662, B. A. E., 1868. Havasoos Pai.—Ewing in Great Divide, 203, Dec. 1882. Ha-va-su-pai.—Cushing in Atlantic Mo., L, 374, Sept. 1882. Hava-su-pay.—Bandelier in Arch. Inst. Papers, IV, 366, 1892. Havesu-pai.—Ewing, op. cit. Havisoo Pai.—Ibid. Jabesúa.—Garcés (1776), Diary, 340, 1900. Java Supais.—Baxter in Harper's Mag., June 1882. Jevesua.—Escudero, Noticias de Chihuahua, 226, 1834 (misquoting Garcés). Kochaiakwe.—ten Kate, Reizen in N. A., 300, 1885 (Zuñi name: 'Pinon nut people'?). Kochaikwe.—Ibid., 256. Ko'-hai'-ne.—Gilbert, Yuma vocab., B. A. E., 64, 1878 (Hopi name). Kŏhoninu.—Voth, Traditions of the Hopi, 19, 1905 (Hopi name). Kohoninu.—Gatschet in Zeitschr. f. Ethnol., XVIII, 97, 1886. Kŏsinu.—Ibid., XV, 124, 1883 (Hopi name). Koy-sina'-kwe.—ten Kate, Synonymie, 7, 1884 (Zuñi name, borrowed from the Hopi). Kŭsinumu.—Ibid. (Hopi name). Kŭshaikwe.—ten Kate, Reizen in N. A., 300, 1885 (Zuñi name: 'Pinon nut people'?). Kuhai kwe.—Cushing in Atlantic Mo., L, 362, Sept. 1882 (Zuñi name; *kwe*='people'). Ku'h-sin.—Escudero, Noticias de Chihuahua, 226, 1834 (misquoting Garcés, 1776). Kŭyai-kwe.—Gatschet in Zeitschr. f. Ethnol., XV, 124, 1883 (Zuñi name). Nation of the Willows.—Cushing in Atlantic Mo., L, 362, 541, 1882. Navisi-pai.—Gatschet, op. cit., XV, 127, 1883 (a Walapai form). People of the Willows.—Powell in 3d Rep. B. A. E., xix, 1884. Sapais.—Cushing in Atlantic Mo., 544, Oct. 1882 (after "Arizona Miner"). Sapios.—Hinton, Handbook to Arizona, 359, 1878. Sapis.—Orosco y Berra, Geografia, 89, 346, 1864 (erroneously given as part of Faraon Apache). Supai.—Ind. Aff. Rep.,

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lxxxi, 1886. Tonto Cocnino.—Möllhausen, Tagebuch, II, 198, 1858. Yabipais Jabesua.—Garcés (1776), Diary, 414, 1900. Yavas Supai.—*Arthur* (1882) in Ind Aff. Rep., 297, 1886. Yavipai Jabesua.—Bandelier in Arch. Inst. Papers, III, 112, 1890 (after Garcés). Yavipai javesua.—Orozco y Berra, Geog., 41, 1864 (after Garcés). Yuva-Supai.—Corbusier in Am. Antiq., 276, Sept. 1886.

11: Shufeldt D-4 (no date) 1892
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Havasupai

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE HAVESU-PAI INDIANS.

BY

R. W. SHUFELDT, M. D.

(With Plates XXV, XXVI.)

Several years ago when the writer had the opportunity of studying some of the tribes of our Indians in the southwest, especially those found in northwestern New Mexico and over the adjacent boundary of Arizona, he met with Mr. Benj. Wittick, formerly a photographer in the employ of the U. S. Geological Survey, who was making a collection of photographs of the Indians of that region. He had visited that least known tribe of Arizona Indians, the Ha-vesu-pai, of the so-called Su-pai Cañon, and had obtained some excellent pictures of them. I was so fortunate as to secure prints of Mr. Wittick's photographs of that race. As we have no good illustrations of those people that I am aware of, it is hoped that the two plates we are enabled to reproduce here of them will be found useful to the anthropologist. 114

In every sense of the word the Havesu-pais are a dying race. There is but a remnant of them now in existence; I have heard it said, less than two hundred. They exist in one of the grandest cañons in all Arizona, living in their primitive lodges along the bank of the stream that passes through it. Upon looking up such matter as had been written upon this departing tribe of Indians, I found it to be exceeding meager; indeed there is little or nothing known about them. From the very inaccessible place of their abode they have been very rarely seen, and only on few occasions by scientific men. Mr. Albert S. Gatschet of the Bureau of Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution confirmed this opinion, and said that those Indians were known in former times by the name of "Koxoninos," or "Cochnichnos," but that they were the "Cosninos" of the Moquis of Arizona. Properly they should be known by the name that the Yumas call them, that is the Havesu-pai, or Avésu-pai, meaning the "down below people, or a tribe or race that live down in the cañon." "Páya, pái," being "all, people." They themselves claim to be descended from the Wolapai. 114

In Vol. III of the Pacific Railroad Reports, Whipple barely alludes to them. On page 80 of that work he states that "upon old Spanish 114

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maps the San Francisco mountain is represented as belonging to the continuous Mogollon chain, which comes from the east southeast, and was called Sierra de los Cosninos, the name of a tribe of Indians inhabiting this region. I am under the impression that Leroux, the early explorer in that part of the country was finally murdered by the Cosninos, but I do not remember that the account has ever been printed." Whipple also refers to the "Cosnino caves," remarking that "the Cosnino caves had been plastered with mortar, showing more artistic skill than is practiced by the present occupants of the country" (*loc. cit.*, p. 15). And again on page 19 he goes to show that, taken collectively, the Pontos, Cosninos, and Yampais together number 6,000 souls; of these 2,000 were Yampais (p. 17). But all this is very brief and unsatisfactory. 195 114

Capt. John G. Bourke in his work on "The Snake-dance of the Moquis of Arizona" (1884), says, "At Keam's ranch we met Mr. Alexander Steven, a bright Scotchman who during the past 12 years has had considerable experience as a metallurgist and mining prospector in Nevada and Utah. He gave me a thrilling account of his journey westward to the country of the Cohoninos, a tribe of Indians living in the cañon of Cataract Creek, near its junction with the Grand Cañon of the Colorado in this Territory.

"They number only from forty to fifty warriors, live in the cliffs in winter, and build 'wickyups' or sapling lodges in summer. They say that the Hualpais (Wolapais), Apache-Mojaves, and themselves are all one people—Cohoninos—but that *their* proper designation is the "Ah-Supai. 175 101 [349]

"They raise an abundance of finest peaches, good corn and melons, and weave unusually fine and beautiful baskets. They are great hunters, and eke out a living by trading off buckskins, and sometimes mountain lion pelts, to the Moquis, Navajos, and Apaches. 175 [241] [285] [439]

"The cañon in which they dwell is 4,500 feet deep, and is that of the Cataract Creek, a strong body of clear water tumbling by a series of cascades into the Grand Cañon of the Colorado, 1,500 feet still deeper, and separated from their village by a series of blood-curdling precipices and chasms" (pp. 80, 81). Captain Bourke, in speaking of the Moquis, says further, that "Intimate commercial relations are maintained with the Cohoninos or Ava-Supais on the west (*loc. cit.*, p. 254). [33] [439]

In a lecture before the National Academy of Sciences, delivered in Washington, April 22, 1882, Mr. Frank H. Cushing in referring to the Zunians said, "Interesting among the hero-gods is the great priest of all religious orders save that of the bow, *Poshai Ank'ia*. In the days of the new, yet not until after men had begun their journey toward the east, he is supposed to have appeared among the ancestors of the Zuñis, the Taos, the Coconinos, and the Moqui Indians, so poor and ill-clad as to have been ridiculed by mankind." This lecture was afterwards published in The Popular Science Monthly, of New York (1882, p. 191). 114 793

133 come to an opening, and hear the deep roar of another waterfall, the thunders of which echo eternally up and down the narrow, dark cañon. You are surrounded by heaps of ashes, charred bones, beads, muskets, bowls, shells, and other savage possessions, some of them [764] on the bare rocks, others on the thin, sandy soil; for this is the cremating ground of those among the Nation of the Willows who meet their death by accident, and these are their funeral pyres. You step a few rods beyond, and find yourself upon the brink of a precipice of four hundred feet, over which, to the right, plunges in an unbroken spout or sheet the whole river, striking the basin below with deafening thunder, and sending clouds of spray far into the dark, green chasm below. I cannot attempt to describe this waterfall. It is formed like the preceding one, but, while not so beautiful, is wonderfully grand. It is named by the Indians "Mother of the Waters;" and by prospectors "Mooney Fall," because an adventurer of that name, in attempting to descend the precipice hand under hand on a rope, became giddy, and fell upon the rocks below, where now his bones, ever washed and whitened by the limy mists, give to the Ha-va-su-paí a warning of the forbidden pass to the "home of the mother of the waters;" [776] for he believes that the spirits of his ancestors sometimes float up and down amid the mists and rainbows, or that animistic demons lurk in the green, shadowy depths of the chasm.

● 101 The nearest neighbors of the Ha-va-su-paí are the Hua-la-pai, who roam over the great plains west of the cañon, and the Pai Utes, to the north of the cañon of the Colorado Grande, who, although only a few miles away, are separated from them by the Grand Cañon, and can reach them only by going far to the southwest, crossing the Colorado, and passing through the territory of the Hua-la-pai. On the south,

101 their immediate neighbors were, before their removal to the San Carlos agencies, the Apache Mojaves and Apache Yumas. Both, in common with the Hua-la-pai, their relatives by blood and tongue, were formerly their inveterate enemies. The Hua-la-pai now remain nominally neutral, although occasionally aggressive and thieving. Further to the north were the Utes; to the west, the Chemehuevas; to the southwest, the Mojaves, Pimas, Maricopas, and Coco Maricopas; to the south, the White Mountain Apaches. These were the only tribes they knew, with the exception of their distant eastern neighbors, the Moquis and Zuñis, and the still more distant Navajos and Pueblos of the Rio Grande. Separated from the Ha-va-su-paí by the terrible waterless wastes I have described, the Moquis and Zuñis have nevertheless been their constant visitors for generations. Doubtless, the latter guided Coronado's lieutenant to the great cañon, which turned him southward to new sufferings and discoveries. Certain it is that the Ha-va-su-paí have been vaguely spoken of by the name of the Coçoninos by the Spaniards, and their descendants the Mexicans.

175 It was not until the expeditions of Captain Sitgreaves and Lieutenant Ives were undertaken, some thirty years ago, that anything came to be definitely known of the Coçoninos. Sitgreaves tells of the theft of some mules from his party by a band of "Cosninos;" and a daring doctor of the Ives expedition, almost famished for want of water, records how he nearly lost his life in attempting to descend a ladder, on the western trail, which, breaking, precipitated him several feet upon a rock-shelf, whence he was drawn up by his companions with a rope improvised from the straps of their packs. He saw, far below, some Indians, he says, and smoke from their huts. But the first white man who tells us anything of their actual home lives only as the nameless char-

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The Havasupai

133 [131] The home of the Havasupai is in Cataract Cañon, a branch of the Grand Cañon of the Colorado. Without question it is the strangest dwelling place of any tribe in America. In all the long leagues of the cañon's windings there is but one small spot where the gorge widens. Here is an amphitheatre. Its bottom has filled with earth, the weatherings of untold ages, and at the spot where the narrow rift begins to widen the blue water springs from the earth. The clean, clear cut, perpendicular walls of red sandstone tower four hundred feet toward the heavens, and back of these sheet walls are others, but broken, ragged, cut, cañoned, and tumbled into a wilderness of rock, ever mounting higher, until at the cañon's rim one is three thousand feet above the bottom of the chasm in which these people have their home. Standing on the edge and looking down into this bewildering gorge one sees many fanciful forms, fashioned through eons from the world or rock: castles, citadels, pyramids, pinnacles, and sphinx-like sculptures, tinted and mystified with the incomparable atmospheric coloring of the desert, and ever wrapped in death-like stillness. As he gazes there is nothing to suggest that half a mile below and twenty miles away, at the bottom of this awful gash, is a garden spot, and a village of humans.

[131] 487 To reach this little oasis there are but two trails, and he who selects one will wish he had taken the other; both follow routes chosen by prehistoric man. The sandalled feet of unknown generations toiled up and down these tortuous ways ages before there was need of making them accessible for beasts of burden. After hours of winding about sheer cliffs, down narrow gorges, patiently picking a /98/ way back and forth across crumbling rocky slopes, one reaches at last the home of the Havasupai. The floor 131 is half a mile wide, scarcely two miles long, and contains an 133 area of less than five hundred acres. The never-ending stream from which this small but picturesque tribe derives its name, (1)

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1. The name Havasupai, "Blue Water People," is of Yuman origin, from aha',

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●101 water; vasú, blue; and apá, man; and was first applied to them by the Walapai and other Yuman tribes, who had been impressed by the peculiarly transparent blue of the stream flowing through Cataract Canon. By several neighboring tribes and by early writers the Havasupai were called Coconinos, or Cohoninos. This is undoubtedly a Hopi word, for the Hopi still call them Kohúnina, which, they say, is from kóhu, wood, and nína, kill, hence "Wood-killers," referring to the former Havasupai custom of breaking off limbs of trees for firewood with clubs. The name survives in that of Coconino county, Arizona.

[313]

133 and which makes life possible in the depths of the gorge, flows through the length of the little garden spot, then in a cataract leaps from the floor of the cañon to be caught in a pool below.

137 While the brink of the cañon lies in the high plateau region, the land of the piñon, cedar, and pine, the home of the Havasupai is in almost a subtropical spot that produces luxuriant

771 vegetation with fruits of several kinds. Ask a Havasupai whence came these fruits and vegetables, and he will tell you, "God brought them, all but the figs." This frank expression as to the origin of his garden products reflects a Havasupai peculiarity. Ordinarily Indians will not mention their gods by name, but the Havasupai discuss them with the same familiarity that they would their neighbors. With them, as indeed with all Indians, everything animate and inanimate is of divine origin.

773
197 Havasupai mythology differs but slightly from that of the parent stock, and the difference in language is dialectic only.

174 Notwithstanding the similarity in myth and language, the separa-

144 tion must have occurred at a very early date, for in their features the Havasupai bear little resemblance to the Yuma or the Mohave.

[142] They are below the average Indian in stature, while the Mohave and the Yuma are far above.

161 /99/ In 1903 the Havasupai numbered about 250, but in three years disease has diminished their population to 166. The

14:Smithson & Euler E-5 (1951-1958, 1962)1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

PREFACE

by

Robert C. Euler

In the aboriginal and early historic period the Havasupai and Walapai considered themselves to be a single ethnic group, Pai, the people, distinct from all others including the Yavapai (Dobyns and Euler, 1960; Euler and Dobyns, 1960). Their culture, including their religious and mythological tenets, was essentially the same.

Although basic ethnographic studies have been published for both (Kroeber, 1935; Spier, 1928), Pai religion has not been treated in detail. Smithson, in The Havasupai Woman (1959), concerned herself only tangentially with these matters as they pertained to women in the society. Yet, on her several field trips from 1951 through 1958, she had elicited additional and more detailed data from several informants. Her final trip to the Havasupai, for three months in the summer of 1958, was for the express purpose, and was supported by a grant from the University of Utah Research Fund.

These unpublished notes came into my hands after Mrs. Smithson's untimely death, at her initial request and through the courtesy of Jesse D. Jennings. Mrs. Smithson and I, when she first learned of her incurable illness, had discussed the matter personally. This was at a time when I was working independently on other aspects of Havasupai culture, but with essentially the same informants. We remain in her debt for concerning herself with the ultimate disposition of her notes during such a trying period of her life, and in that of Jennings for arranging for the editing and publication of the material. I should like, also, to express my appreciation to the University of Utah Research Fund for permitting me to utilize the unexpended balance of the grant in the preparation of this study. I also wish to thank those unnamed Havasupai informants who patiently helped me recheck portions of the notes in the summer of 1962. Their cooperation was due in large measure to the rapport that Smithson had earlier established.

That the data are not full is a factor of several matters beyond the control of the authors. Smithson worked with the last elderly Havasupai shaman who, in his advanced years, had limitations of recall. He had died prior to my last visit in 1962. Other, lay, informants had less knowledge of the more esoteric practices.

RELIGION

The General Character of Havasupai Religion

[Spier (1928, 275, 289) has well, but briefly, discussed the position of supernatural beliefs in Havasupai culture. Religion was poorly developed; ceremonialism was meager except perhaps when it involved shamanistic practices. Some incipient borrowing was made from the Hopi in the use of prayers, masked dancers and prayer sticks; from the Southern Paiute in the acceptance of the 1890 ghost dance; and from the Mohave funeral rites. The concern with shamans and curing through spirits was typically Yuman, as were cremation, mourning ceremonies and fear of ghosts. The round dance undoubtedly was derived from the Great Basin. (See also Spier, 1929).]

Cosmology

The Havasupai believed that the world was flat and that the sky was a dome that came to meet the earth all around the edges. The middle of the world was at the San Francisco Peaks [the highest peaks in Arizona, north of Flagstaff, and visible from all parts of Havasupai territory except, of course, in the deep tributary gorges of Grand Canyon. This visibility accounts for the belief that the San Francisco Peaks are central in Havasupai world concepts even though, geographically, they are near the southeastern corner of their former range]. The earth, high in the middle and sloping away to the edges, was small, but the sky was large and very high.

Underground consisted of four levels, as did the sky. Shamans are reported to have seen these latter levels, which were inhabited by people with wings, sky people, mi ɛ̃ʾbɛ̃ʾdjih.

The Havasupai recognized six directions, including the zenith and nadir (Spier, 1928, 169). There existed a vague notion of an ocean to the west [probably learned from the Mohave who had traded with coastal people]

Of the neighboring tribes the Havasupai knew the Walapai, Hopi, Apache, Southern Paiute and Navajo. [An interesting denial of knowledge of the Yavapai perhaps results from the Havasupai consideration that, of all creatures, the Yavapai were farthest from a human category. Further, unless one makes specific separate inquiry, Havasupais often tend to equate the Yavapai and Apache. Tales of Apache raids in reality refer to Yavapai encounters.] They knew of Zuni and Acoma, but did not visit Zuni or farther east. Knowledge of these pueblos came to them through the Hopi.

similar to the rain dance that Kroeber (1935, 202-3) reported for the Walapai

At least occasionally a rain dance was held near two rock pinnacles in a canyon upstream from the main village along the Topocoba trail. These dances did not involve masked impersonators and were held only in dry years in an attempt to bring moisture to the plateau. The rocks, ö?wi?gath? ǵwä (rock split apart) and ö?ih?ga^{l}č? ǵwäv? (wood piled up), were near a small spring, and were considered rain "gods." No additional data concerning these events could be learned.

MYTHS AND LEGENDS

[The following 26 stories were collected from 10 informants by Mrs. Smithson in the summer of 1958. As in the preceding section of this study, the junior author's comments are placed in brackets and parenthetical remarks of the senior author are so indicated.

Although we do not have any other recordings of Havasupai myths and legends with which to make direct comparison, Kroeber's (1935, 245 ff.) 1929 field party collected several from Walapai informants. Since I believe that the Walapai and Havasupai were one and the same ethnic group prior to 1880, when they were separated by government fiat (Dobyns and Euler, 1960), Kroeber's will serve excellently. Kroeber (1935, 245) likened Walapai mythology to that of the lowland Yumans especially the associations of Mountain Lion, Wolf, and Coyote, although he felt that the "cooperation-antithesis" of the two latter animals was Plateau-Shoshonean. Since Walapai Ethnograph is now out of print, it will be of value to quote Kroeber's (1935, 245) conclusions in their entirety:

> "The Walapai are certainly not skillful story-tellers, even after allowance for imperfections and our rendering. Their motivations are crude and trivial; they do not consistently build up a character--except the essentially inconsistent Coyote; they do not always hold consistently to the hero even within one tale; and they do not seem to feel, or at any rate are unable to express, well marked sympathy or identification with their personages, or to attach much emotion to them or their fate. They do like incident, irrespective of its inner connection with the plot; magic and trickery; and obscenity, sexual or otherwise."

The veracity of those statements is apparent in the Havasupai tales that follow.